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Christopher Von Graffenried's account of his new Berne adventures

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CHRISTOPHER VON GRAFFENRIED'S ACCOUNT OF HIS NEW BERNE ADVENTURES

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BY

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B. A. Harvard University, 1907

THESIS

Submitted in Partial Fulfillment of the Requirements for the

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I HEREBY RECOMMEND THAT THE THESIS PREPARED UNDER MY SUPERVISION BY

Vincent Hollis Todd

ENTITLED Christopher von Graffenried's Account of his New Bern Adventures

BE ACCEPTED AS FULFILLING THIS PART OF THE REQUIREMENTS FOR THE

DEGREE OF Master of Arts

Julius Goebel
In Charge of Major Work

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CHAPTER I.

A Survey of the Palatine Movement in the Reign of Queen Anne.

To understand the causes which led to the emigration of many thousands of Germans to America during the colonial period it is necessary to remember not only the great intellectual Movement of the Reformation, but also the equally intense movement of the Counter Reformation which sets in with the latter part of the sixteenth century and extends far into the seventeenth century.

But though the Reformation had started in Germany, which was considered by England during the greater part of the sixteenth century as the fatherland of the Reformation towards which her own persecuted Protestants looked for protection, this relationship changed greatly during the period of the great religious wars caused by this Counter Reformation and the subsequent political and economic weakening of Germany. In the meantime a second great reformation had taken place in England, culminating in the time and person of Cromwell. It was his thought to secure it by an alliance of Protestant Europe against the Catholic Spanish World. It was he who conceived the providential destiny of England to be that of a champion and protector of Protestantism and in this way he hoped to make it a world power. After the reaction of the reign of Charles II, Queen Anne took up Cromwell's work and to the extent of her abilities carried out his program. Public opinion was to a large degree with her in this, and the interest in the struggle of the

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German Protestants was kept alive by pamphlets which gave information of the conditions of the Reformation in Germany and particularly in the Palatine.

Not only the Thirty Years' War but the other wars in which Louis XIV involved Europe were more or less inspired by the same spirit of enmity that animated the earlier Counter Reformation.

[1]In all these wars no portion of Germany suffered so much as that part called the Lower Palatinate. Lying as it does on the eastern boundary of France, it was easily accessible to the French soldiery, a fertile country it offered excellent opportunity for maintaining an army, and being Protestant was an especial object of resentment to the French King. Turenne in 1674 ravaged the province thoroughly in accordance with his policy of making the enemy support his army. Then in the wars of 1688-89, while the rest of Germany which might have given aid was busy warding off the Turks, Louis XIV took the opportunity of weakening the enemy, venting his malice against the Protestants, and doing a pleasure to Madame de Maintenon by devastating the province in a way unparalleled in modern history. Many of the inhabitants were butchered, others died of exposure, others fled, and the few who remained were in a most miserable condition. He purposed to make the country as nearly a desert as possible, and to do so wantonly burned cities and towns as well as isolated dwellings and even cut down orchards and

1.Bayard Taylor's School History of Germany. Bernheim's German Settlements and The Lutheran Church in the Carolinas give a very brief but comprehensive description of these times. Larger histories would give more details but I have depended for the most part on the Ecclesiastical Records of the State of New York Vol. IIIfor these.

and uprooted the vines. The treaty of Ryswick gave a temporary relief and many returned to their homes. But in 1700 the wars of the Spanish Succession broke out and the Palatinate was again over run with troops. The distruction seems not to have been so severe as in the previous war, but the new elector, now a Catholic, subjected the Protestants to a system of persecution which was very annoying and disquieting, for the persecutions which accompanied the Reformation throughout Europe were still fresh in men's memories and they dreaded the worst.

By the Peace of West Phalia the Lutheran and Reformed religions were established in the Palatinate and the Catholic religion was allowed only on sufferance of the elector. But now under John William religious toleration was announced and thereby the Roman Catholic religion put theoretically upon an equality with the other two. As a matter of fact he went farther and took revenues,[1] churches, and schools belonging to the Protestants whether or not they had been Catholic property and turned them to Catholic uses, or else arranged for Catholic and Protestants to have joint possession of the church edifices. He refused to allow Protestant clergymen to sit in the Ecclesiastical Council and when the people protested he said that the "ministers were seditious rebels" and soldiers were quartered on them to harass them. Possibly this seemed worse to the Protestants than he intended, but they cannot be blamed for feeling alarmed. The persecution in many cases amounted to bodily injury and even death, according to one writer. The general poverty and these religious

1. Eccl. Rec. N. Y. Vol. III. 1453.

persecutions caused many in the Palatinate to look about for some place where they could go and be safe. America at this time seemed to offer an ideal refuge. Glowing accounts of its climate, productiveness, and above all, religious freedom, had circulated over Germany. William Penn and other Quakers had been up and down the Rhine making converts, and only recently Pastorius had founded his settlement at Germantown. And so in 1708 we find Joshua Kocherthal with a small company of Palatines and a few from Holstein in England whither they had come by way of Amsterdam.

In 1709 occurred the coldest winter known till then in Palatinate. Trees were killed, birds and animals died of cold, and many of the poor perished. And in the spring great numbers of the poor Germans, mostly from the Palatinate came through Holland to England and were cared for as well as could be done by public and private philanthropy.

It was not a new thing for persecuted subjects to leave their country and settle elsewhere. England had been enriched by the coming of the Walloons. Brandenburg had benefited greatly by Hugenots who settled among them. But in the case of the Palatines it was entirely different. By the petition of Kocherthal to the Queen and the report of the committee appointed to look into his case, it is clear that these people all expected to go to America and depended largely on outside help to get there. Those who came to England in 1709-10 were in no better plight, but all had it in mind to stay in England only till they could be sent to the colonies. The question then arises; how these people with almost no means of their own should have the confidence to come in such num-

bers to England; the best estimates placing the number at nearly 15,000 persons, and expect to be sent to the colonies at the government's expense, seeing that the Hugenots who preceded them seem to have had no such hopes.

A few passages taken from the Ecclesiastical Records of New York may throw some light on the case.

In a letter by Simon Beaumont, July 18, 1709, on the history of the Palatines, he makes this appeal, after showing the advantages which may be expected from such imigration. [1] "But these arguments aside. Receiving and succoring these poor Palatines seems to me but the payment of the just debt for the kind entertainment that gave many of our learned divines and others who were forced to take shelter beyond seas in the time of Queen Mary's persecution, and met with a hospitable reception at Frankfort in Germany, in the Palatinate, the Netherland, Switzerland and other places and shall we now suffer any of the posterity of our quondam benefacts to perish for want of bread that providence has thrown into our arms for relief?" To the objection that England has enough poor of her own he admits she has beggars enough and suggests that they go to work and there will be enough for all, then advances the generally accepted economic principles that "multiplying the number of inhabitants conduces to the strength, grandeur, and wealth of the Kingdom since its people are the Riches, Honor and Strength of a nation and that wealth increases in an equal proportion to the additional number of inhabitants." He cites the fact

[1] .Eccl. Rec. III. 1774-1777.

that "the Palatines who went to Magdeburg in 1689 are worth 100000 crowns a year to the King of Prussia, "that Holland by giving refuge to distressed Protestants was enabled to beat off the Spanish and concludes that "10000 Palatines is about 8000 gain without detriment to the nation." Beaumont would have them retained in England rather than let them go to any colony.

[1]When these Protestants reached England they found a hearty welcome from the Queen. [2]Tents and barns were assigned them to camp in, private charity was invoked for their relief and the Queen[3] authorized a daily expenditure of 16 £ at first, but which at last amounted to 100 £ . [4]Their spiritual welfare was provided for by ministers appointed for that particular service, [5]and Bibles were distributed freely among them. [6]About 3000 were settled in Ireland on what was intended to be advantageous terms, but of these, 232 families returned to London, others were sent to the colonies, the government paying their fare.

[7]This generosity was not pleasing to every one in England. The poor had all along considered the money spent on the Palatine as just so much charity diverted from its rightful recipients and others in higher stations did not look upon much expenditure with favor, and Jan. 15, 1710 a committee was appointed [8]to inquire among other things "upon what invitation or encouragement the Palatines came over and what moneys were expended in bringing them here and by whom." A bill was ordered prepared to repeal the act for nat-

1. Eccl. Rec. Vol. III 1786
2. " " " " 1750
3. " " " " 1753, 1786
4. " " " " 1742, 1785
5. Eccl. Rec. Vol. III 1786
6. " " " " 1786
7. " " " " 1753
8. " " " " 1724 et seq.

uralizing foreign Protestants. It will be noted that the investigation assumes that these Protestants were invited or encouraged to come by some one, other wise this language would hardly have been used.

April 14th the committee made its report, of which the following extract directly concerns the discussion: "and upon examination of several of them (Palatines) what were the motives which induced them to leave their native country, it appears to the committee that there were books and papers dispersed in the Palatinate with the Queen's picture before the book (and the title pages in letters of Gold which from thence were called the Golden Book) to encourage them to come to England in order to be sent to Carolina or other of her Majesty's Plantations to be settled there. The Book is chiefly a commendation of that country.

What further encouraged them to leave their native country was the ravages the French had made and the damages the hard frost had done to their vines, and accordingly, one Joshua Kochershall, a Lutheran Minister with some other Palatines to the number of 61 persons applied to Mr. Davenant at Frankfort for passes, but he refused them passes, moneys and recommendations for fear of disgusting the Elector Palatinate and desires to know her Majesty's pleasure therein, how to behave himself, in which Mr. Bayle signifies her Majesty's commands that, though the desire of the poor people to settle in the plantations is very acceptable and would be for the public good, yet she can by no means consent to Mr. Davenant's giving in any public way encouragement, either by money or passes to the elector Palatine's subjects to leave their country

without his consent."------The next year an Act (1724 E. R. M. T.) for naturalizing Protestants being passed a great number of Palatines and some from other parts of Germany came into Holland, and from thence into England at several times, being upon their first arrival in Holland subsisted by the charity of Rotterdam, but afterwards at the Queen's expense and transports and other ships at her Majesty's charges provided to bring them thither as also all sorts of necessaries during this voyage by Mr. Dayralle, her Majesty's Secretary at the Hague, who had received instructions from Mr. Secretary Boyle (in her Majesty's name) to that purpose, pursuant to my Lord Duke of Marlborough's desire." Referring to a gentleman with a servant who had distributed money and tickets to the Palatines at the Brill, the committee report that "Mr. Dayralle could never discover who this gentleman was though he endeavored it all he could, and the committee could come to no certain knowledge therein, but find by two letters that Mr. Henry Torne a Quaker at Rotterdam, who in all this matter acted under Mr. Dayralle, forced a great many to embark for England after they had provided themselves a passage to go back to their own country, which the Palatines owned upon their arrival, was the only reason that induced them to come."

In this connection an item in Lutrell's diary is of interest.[1] There the Queen is said to have written to the King of Prussia that she had already given the ministers abroad instructions to aid the French Protestants, and would further aid them as

1. Pennsylvania German Society. Vol. 7. Page 282.

much as lay in her power. As Beaumont's letter shows, there was a feeling of friendship between England and the Palatinate apart from the close political relations which bound them together. Queen Anne was a generous, impulsive woman and it would be entirely in accord with her diplomatic methods to do as much for these German Protestants, though not in a "public way" as she had done for the French Protestants.

One of those who objected to the assistance given the Palatines wrote a pamphlet which he styles a "Letter to a Gentleman in the Country", in which he says (E. R. N. Y. 1754) [1]"The committee having sate die in diam for a considerable time and searched into papers from the Commissioners of Trade, etc., among which there is said to be a letter from the E. of S.------ that lets them into the whole mystery of the affair, they made their report to the House and their resolutions in manner and form following which was agreed to by those noble Patriots. He then quotes the resolution which is given in a following paragraph. The E. of S could be no one else than the Earl of Sunderland.

At this point the committee thinking, possibly, the investigation had gone far enough into the mystery "resolved[2] that the inviting and bringing over into this kingdom the poor Palatines of all religions at the public expense was an extravagant and miserable charge to the kingdom, and a scandalous misapplication of the public money tending to the increase and oppression of the poor of this kingdom and of dangerous consequences to the con-

1. Eccl. Rec. Vol. III 1754.
2. " " " " 1724, continuation of the extract from the Journal of the House of Commons.

stitution in church and state."

"Resolved that whosoever advised the bringing over of the poor Palatines into this kingdom was an enemy to the Queen and to this Kingdom." Marlborough who by the report is mentioned as having favored the coming of the Palatines may very well have been another of the persons meant, for at this time his upopularity had begun. Parliament havingfulminated this brave sounding but harmless resolution, with reputations for patriotism saved very wisely left the matter in a state of uncertainty delightful for all concerned.

The following paragraph will show that other writers are inclined to believe that Queen Anne and Marlborough had a direct hand in inducing the Palatines to leave their country. "Als[1] im Johre 1804 die frantzösische Völcker ins Reich eingezogen, und die Reichs-Fürsten die Anna Königin in Engeland um Hülffe anrieffen, und diese den Duc de Marlborough mit einer grossen Armee englischer Völcker ins Reich gesandt, durch deren Tapferkeit am 2. Juli die Frantzosen bey Schellenberg geschlagen worden, hatte der Kayser und die Reichs-Fürsten die Königin Anna fragen lassen, was sie ihr zur Dankbarkeit vor diesen grossen Dienst thun können? Darauf hat die Königin Anna sagen lassen, dass sie von ihren Offizieren und Soldaten erfahren habe, dass sie so viele Arme Leuthe im Reich angetroffen, die ihr Brodt und nötigen unterhalt nicht haben: Es sollen die Reichs-Fürsten ihren, armen Leuthen erlauben, nach America Zu Ziehen, wo Land genug ist, worauf sie sich ernehren könnten. Dieses haben sie nebst grosser Ehr-Bezeugung und Dankbarkeit eingewilliget, und weil das arme

1. Der Deutsche Pionier. XIV Jahrgang.

Volck keine möglichkeit gesehen dahin zu kommen, so hat die Königin auf ihren eigenen Kosten viele Tausende nach Engeland bringen lassen, und die da wollten nach America ziehen, die wurden Frachtfrey herübergebracht und mit Proviant, Werkzewg und Geräthschaften versehen."

Whoever it may be was responsible for the Palatine coming, there is no doubt about their welcome during the first year or two of the movement. Besides the public expenditure of [1]135, 775 £, private persons contributed freely both of their time and money for the relief of these poor strangers, and in fact it became the correct thing to have one's name on a subscription list, and the camps at Blackheath and Camberwell became a popular prominade for the elite of London. When the Mohawk chiefs visited London, among the other curiosities, the Palatines were exhibited. Their evident wretchedness touched the hearts of these red men and afforded them an opportunity later to show what true generosity is.

But this charity, being composed partly of gratitude for [2]kindnesses shown the English reformers by the Germans, partly of religious[3] sympathy and political ties, partly of the warm feelings of an impulsive woman, and in the case of some, probably of a [4]desire to be on the popular side, soon began to wear thin and to show a less amiable appearance at closer view. The Palatines could not camp indefinitely at Camberwell and Blackheath, nor live in the barns provided for them, and various were the schemes proposed for settling them. Beaumont in his letter, which

1. Eccl. Rec. Vol. III 1732
2. " " " " 1777
3. Eccl. Rec. Vol. III 1820
4. " " " " 1753

has a very sensible and kindly tone, would keep them in England and allow them to settle on land which was lacking tenants and thus they could live there to the advantage of all. His plan was never successfully carried out.

About 3000 were settled in one body in Ireland and these for the most part stayed, [1] others were scattered about over England wherever any parish would be willing to receive them for 5 £ per head. But after the 5 £ was received the refugees were left to shift for themselves among a people who considered them interlopers and most of them came back to London, more wretched if any thing than before. The best plan after all seemed to be to settle them in America.

The English colonies in America at this time occupied a narrow strip along the Atlantic coast from Massachusetts to the Spanish settlements in Florida, while the interior from the St. Lawrence River to the Gulf of Mexico was claimed and to some extent settled by the French. They came closest to the English in New York and New England and there offered a real menace. The French being mostly traders were on better terms with the Indians, they intermarried with them and adopted many of their habits, while the English held themselves more aloof and as fast as they acquired land cleared it up and so spoiled the hunting. The Iroquois of New York colony were an important exception to the other Indians in this, that they were friendly to the English, while the Indians beyond the Great Lakes and in the Mississippi Valley favored the

1. Pennsylvania German Society. Vol. 7. .314. 1896.

French. But the French traders were among the Iroquois, their allegiance could not be counted on, and one of the most [1]heartless proposals for disposing of the Palatines was"to settle them along the Hudson River in the Province of New York where they may be useful to this Kingdom, particularly in the production of naval stores and as a frontier against the French and their Indians." There can be no objection to the fact that [2]her Majesty was convinced that it would be more for the advantage of her kingdom if a method could be found to settle them here (America) in such a manner that they might get a comfortable livlihood instead of sending them to the West Indies; that it would be a great encouragement to others to follow their example and that the addition to the number of her subjects would in all probability produce a proportionally increase of their trade and manufactures." But the proposal made by the council to take these Protestant refugees, who could have no choice in the matter and use them as a buffer against the savages, certainly robs the act of much of its claim to generosity. [3]Rev. Kocherthal and others who had satisfied the Queen's council by "Testimonials from the Bayliffs or Principall Magistrates where they dwelt" of their good character were sent, [4]more like slaves than like fellow Christians to the colony in New York. Kocherthal's party was small, but [5]others were sent shortly afterwards in large numbers. Governor Hunter says there were 3000 by June 10, 1709. They were put under a sort of military discipline and set at the fruitless task of making tar of

1. Eccl. Rec.Vol. III 1703
2. " " page 1733, 1813
3. Eccl. Rec. Page 1706
4. " " " 1814
5. Eccl. Rec. page 1811.

northern pines. They were to be fed and maintained at the Queen's expense and their whole time was to be devoted to this industry. The well meaning but incompetent Governor Hunter had the supervision of it. Compelled to work under task masters, defrauded of their provisions by the contractor, when petition and resistance failed, like the brick makers of Egypt, they remembered a promised land and in the depth of winter[1], (1711-12) 50 families journeyed to Schoharie and were given the lands promised by the generous Mohawk chiefs years before in London. Relieved of these Indians, without whose assistance they must all have perished, the Palatines remained in spite of the threats of the governor.[2] He "had been the easier under it, upon the consideration that by that means the body of that people is kept together within the Province; that when it shall please her Majesty to resume the design of prosecuting that work, that body at Schoharie may be employed in the vast pine woods near Albany, which they must be obliged to do having no manner of pretense to ye possession of any lands but by performing their part of the contract relating to that manufacture, and that in that situation they may serve in some measure as a frontier to or at least to an increase of the strength of Albany and Schenectady; but if the war continues, or should by any misfortune break out again it will neither be possible for them to subsist or safe for them to remain there, considering the use they have already made of arms where they were intrusted with them. "This refers to the resistance they tried to offer in the tar

1. Eccl. Rec. Vol. III 2169. A most interesting document being the petition presented to the Crown in 1720. It reviews the conditions of the Palatines in New York from 1709-1720.
2. Eccl. Rec Vol. III 1965.

making experiment and [1]overlooks their loyal services at Louisburg, where they served without pay and then were deprived of their arms at the end of the war. In dismissing these Palatines it may be well to add that just as soon as the governors gave them a chance by letting them alone they prospered and became in fact the best possible frontier against the Indians, not by fighting them but by keeping their friendship. The following "Order of the Virginia Executive Council, April 28, 1714" will show a little more fully how this charity was tempered with cold calculation.

[2]"The Governor acquainting the Council that Sundry Germans to the number of forty-two men women and children who were invited hither by the Baron de Graffenried are now arrived but that the said Baron not being here to take care of this Settlement the Governor therefore proposed to settle them above the falls of Rappahannock River to serve as a barrier to the inhabitants of that part of the Country against the Incursions of the Indians and desiring the opinion of the Council whether in consideration of their usefulness for that purpose the Charge of building them a Fort, and clearing a road to their settlement and carrying thither two pieces of Canon and some ammunition may not properly be defrayed by the publick.

It is the unanimous opinion of this Board that the Settlement, tending so much to the Security of that part of the Frontiers, it is reasonable that the expense proposed by the Governor in making thereof should be defrayed at the public charge of the Government, and that a quantity of powder and ball be de-

1. See note 1, page 14.
2. Virginia Historical Magazine. Vol. XIII 362.

livered for their use out of her Majestie's magazine. And because the S^{d} Germans, arriving so late cannot possibly this year cultivate any ground for the (ir) Subsistance, much less be able to pay the public Services of the Government. It is the opinion of this Board that they be put under the denomination of Rangers to exempt them from that charge, and for the better enabling the S^{d} Germans to supply by hunting the want of other provinces. It is also ordered that all other persons be restrained from hunting on unpatented Lands near the Settlement."

CHAPTER II.

Christopher von Graffenried's Life and Especially his Adventures in America.

[1]Christopher von Graffenried who had an important part in this movement of the Germans to America, was born at Erdenburg, November 15, 1661. The father, Anton von Graffenried, was a business man and office holder of the traditional type; honest. frugal, obstinate, and withal one of those men whose family affections were not so strong as to ever cloud their business sense. His recreation was geneological research.

Shortly after the birth of a daughter, Christopher's mother died and for a time he was without the care that a child needs. The father married again, however, and until he went to school, Christopher enjoyed a pleasant life at home for the stepmother took the place of his real mother very successfully.

At seven, Anton sent the boy to a Latin preceptor at Kost. There were five little boys in this private school and they were not allowed to use any other language than Latin. The penalty was a cash payment for each offense, and Anton found the penalties rather grievous. In other ways the place was disagreeable, but as Christopher alone felt it and the penalties were not required to be paid in cash, it did no good to complain. Finally the ill-treatment caused the boy to run away to a relative, and he persuaded Anton to allow him to come home.

[1]Neujahrsblatt, heraus gegeben von Historischen Verein des Kantons Bern 1897, gives Graffenried's early and later life as well as an abbreviated account of his stay in America.

In 1676 the Zobels of Augsburg sold their Saltworks at Roche to Anton von Graffenried and the superintendant who took over the business in partnership. The superintendant had a daughter of about Christopher's age and it was planned that when the children became old enough they should marry, but a quarrel arising between the fathers over their rights in the business, the intended marriage was given up.

Shortly after this a relative of one of the regicides, named Sir Waler who had taken refuge in Vivis, became interested in the boy whom he met while visiting the saltworks, and advised the parents to send him to England where he would surely make his fortune. Another plan, however, crowded this one out. Through one of his brothers Anton Graffenried hoped to get his son a place at the Court of Saxony, but the brother died before anything could be effected. Christopher's restless disposition was likely increased by these ambitious plans and having come into 20000 ₤ from his mother he wished to travel. The father thought it unsafe to let so young a man handle such a sum of money and so a new cause for discord between them arose. The boy and his father never did understand each other, for the father kept to the time honored traditions of business and morals, while the son had new ideas. Then too, Anton was an Aristotelian in philosophy and Christopher a Carthesian, and consequently to the father almost as bad as a heretic. And so there was no lack of disputes between them. The matter of travelling was settled finally by Anton allowing his son to go in company with a theological student to supervise his studies and expenditures.

In this way he went to Heidelberg, then in its glory, and made friends with Professor Hagenberg, one of the Duke's councillors, and through him he met the Elector himself. Graffenried's social progress was better than his scholastic, and soon his father sent word for him to leave. He went next to Frankfurt and from there to Leyden where he studied law, history, and mathematics for two years. Meantime Anton Graffenried had arranged to put Christopher in the care of Sir Waler and there was a good prospect that a Sir Roux, who was to be secretary to the embassy at Constantinople under the Duke of Carlisle, could get him a position there also. When Christopher reached England the Duke had already left for the East and there was nothing to be hoped for in that quarter. As Christopher had only ten ducats he was in a rather precarious position. A fellow countryman, a locksmith by trade, got lodgings for him till money came from Switzerland, and then Graffenried went to live with Rev. Horneg, chaplain to General Mock's son the Duke of Albemarle. The chaplain did not wish to introduce the young man to his patron, thinking it would be to his soul's peril if he came into such society and often warned him against trying to advance himself through the favor of nobility. Again one of his countrymen, a trumpet mayor gave him the needed help by introducing him to the Duke when Lord Hunsdon was also present. Both were well pleased with their new acquaintance, and in a short time his accomplishments made him much sought after. Even Charles II inquired about him and Graffenried had the honor of being presented at the Court.

Another honor awaited him, Cambridge University was preparing to confer the Doctor's Degree on the Duke of Albemarle, but as the Duke could not be present he sent Graffenried and a man named Farwel to represent him on that occasion. What was Graffenried's surprise when the same degree was offered him. He refused it, saying, he had never studied for such a degree, but would accept a master's degree from the University, quoting the proverb: "In omnibus aliquid, in toto nihil." This modesty made Graffenried more than ever a favorite with the Duke. A position of Cornet which would require 10000 ₤ to obtain was open to him. Having this he hoped to marry a poor court lady of noble family. In answer to his letter requesting 10000 ₤, he got word to come to Paris under peralty of losing his prerogatives and further if he married this girl he would be disinherited. His fare was paid stage at a time by designated persons and as he left England he did not even have heart to bid his friends good-bye. It seems that Anton Graffenried had heard something of his son's career and slanderers had made it appear very bad. Another traveler gave the father a better report, but the mischief was done, Christopher's connections were too badly broken to renew.

After this Christopher came to Paris for a year and again made friends with influential people there and had the distinction of meeting Louis XIV. After a short stay at Lyons he came home to Bern ten years after he had left it and had a cold reception from his father and grandfather who reproached him for the money he had wasted.

They advised him to marry and enter upon the official life that was open to him. Neither marriage nor the life of an office holder in a small Swiss city interested him much, but he followed his family's advice and in April 25, 1684 he was married to a lady, Fraulein Regine Tscharner. On this occasion Anton Graffenried was so niggardly that the groom had to lend money for the wedding presents and pay for the carriage himself.

By this time Christopher's own property was small, and his family grew so rapidly that his circumstances were considerably straightened before he received an office. In 1702 he was elected Bailiff of Iverton. This had been a profitable office until then, but now a period of ill fortune succeeded. The first year's profits were diminished by the banquets custom compelled him to give, and the next year when he ought to have made some gain, the Neuenburger troubles broke out and Iverton became the assembling point of neighboring officials and had to support a garrison. The Bailiff had to keep open house to officers and diplomats, with the result that it cost him 200 dublons. Of this only 50 were paid back. In 1708 the office ended.

A variety of causes contrived to make his home distasteful to him, among which may be mentioned, the recent disturbances while he was Bailiff, the persecutions of the Anabaptists, and the troubles which then existed between the Catholic and the Protestant cities, but more urgent than any of these were his bad speculations and the need to recoup his fortunes. And so he turned towards America.

This account of his life taken from his own papers by one of his descendants shows that Christopher von Graffenried was no ordinary man. He had the ability of making friends, and inspired people with confidence in him. He must have been acute of mind, and above all, he possessed the love of adventure necessary to the success of such an undertaking. The failure of his plans must be laid, not to him, but to circumstances over which he had no control and which he could not have foreseen. He had been considering the chances of bettering his condition in America for sometime and had made considerable inquiry respecting silver mines, agriculture and the best means of settling there. The truth about our country has always been hard to get at for prospective imigrants, and it was especially true during the time of the early settlements. America then seemed an ideal country. The wealthy and learned man tired of his over-culture thought of it as a land where he could find rest and happiness in its unbounded forest solitudes, while to the poor man oppressed with heavy taxes it seemed like a promised land flowing with milk and honey, and here the persecuted of every sect could find a religious freedom unknown elsewhere. Thus it was natural for him to think of America under such circumstances.

Graffenried's office ended at just the right time seemingly, for in 1709 the movement of the Germans to Englad was at its height and settlers for a new colony were easy to find. A company was formed at Bern called George Ritter & Co. By the terms of the contract Graffenried and Lawson, two of the members, were to take up 15000 acres between the Neuseand the Trent rivers and 2500 acres along the Weetock River for 1 £ 6 d, per

1000 acres and for seven years he had an option on 100,000 acres more at the same price. The Berne Company was capitalized at 7,300 £. Another company in England gave him support to the extent of 5000 £ after he had given security. Queen Anne gave 4000 £ outright to assist him more and the prospect seemed most encouraging. Graffenried, then head of the actual settlement was well and favorably known to the influential in England, and because of this, and to increase his prestige in America, his friends the proprietors made him a Landgrave in their new order of aristocracy, founded in Lock's Fundamentals. The other associate, Lawson, who was to be with him had been in Carolina and was the official surveyor there. For settlers Graffenried had his choice of about 10,000 Palatines besides the Swiss from his own country who ventured with him. He took care to select persons of so many different trades that the only lack was in a clergyman, and the Bishop of London impowered him to perform two of the functions very essential to a new colony, marriage and baptism. The Queen herself paid the transportation of the settlers and gave each 30 shillings for clothes. Under such auspices they were soon on their way.

They went in two bands, Graffenried remaining till the second to conduct some of his Switzers who were not yet in England. Horace says that ones fate rides with him on his horse and goes with him on his ship, but in this case ill fortune did not wait to come with its victim but preceeded him on the first ship load. The first party went out in January 1710 and after a hard voyage of more than 13 weeks, in which more than half died, they came in sight of land.

In full view of shore and of a British frigate which was unable to help them, they were overhauled by a French privateer and plundered. Those on this ship were in better circumstances than the others as regards both provisions and money, and so the loss was the more severe. They landed when the privateer was through with them, near the mouth of the James River and proceeded overland to North Carolina. At the Chowan River, about 20 German or 80 English miles, distant, Colonel Pollock put the colonists on boats and sent them to the tract which Lawson had assigned them, between the Neuse and the Trent rivers. The situation itself Graffenried later considered one of his misfortunes, for it was low, hot and very unhealthy. Here they passed a most wretched summer for they had to barter what little they had for food to live on.

The ship in which Graffenried came had a pleasant voyage and arrived without mishap in sight of Virginia,[1] September 10. First Graffenried paid his respects to the Lieutenant Governor of Virginia, Governor Spottswood, being at that time absent. This done he and his people took their way into Virginia.

At Somerton a delegation met him and desired him to take the presidency of the assembly on account of his rank as Landgrave. Graffenried refused the request with thanks because he knew that the proprietors had appointed Mr. Hyde, and Hyde was at that moment in Virginia and if there had been no other reason, the fact that the new Govenor was a relative of the Queen would make Graffenried hesitate to offend the proprietors. His answer did not please this anti-Cary faction very

[1]German version Page 67.

well, but they had to make the best of it.

It will be necessary to give a glance over the history of the colony to fully appreciate what follows. [1]The Government in the colony had never been very stable. In 167[illegible] Culpepper had turned out Thomas Miller and made himself Governor. he was followed by Sothel, who was banished in 1690 for a year and disenfranchised. Captain Gibbs took his place although he had no legal right to the office. After him Governor Daniel held the office. In 1704 the Quakers had him removed because he insisted upon their taking an oath of allegiance to Queen Anne. They offered the place to Colonel Cary but when he made the same requirement influenced the proprietors to depose him also. The council then elected another president named Glover but as he required the oaths to be taken by all officials, Colonel Cary was reinstated in this office again. But now there were two presidents. Each issued writs for a new election. Cary received the majority of votes and Glover raised the cry of fraud and refused to abide by the decision. And so we have a state with two Governors and little government, as all accounts agree. It could hardly be otherwise in a sparsely settled community where authority is difficult to maintain at best, that lawlessness should reign where governors are set up and deposed by the people with so little ceremony. Glover's government seems to have made but small impression judging by the comparatively few times it is mentioned in the Records, and Graffenried does not speak of him at all.

[1]Introduction to Col. Rec of N. C.

[1]Cary, however, took active measures to support his claims for sometime before May 27, 1710-1711 he seized a brigantine.

The [2]letters of the proprietors show that they carefully avoided taking sides with either party in a crisis where a decision of some sort was very much needed.

This, then, was the situation when Graffenried reached Somerton in the forepart of September 1710. His position was very difficult for these reasons, that while he would naturally wish to support the proprietor's choice, Cary had the colony's funds in his power. By the terms of the contract Graffenried was to receive 500 ₤ support for his people on the colony's account with the proprietor. He needed the money at this very time. If he supported Cary there was a chance of getting it immediately. If on the other hand Cary were not the Governor he was under no obligation to pay the money to Graffenried, but to whoever was the lawful Governor, and he in turn would pay it to Graffenried.

[1]Col. Rec. Vol 1, 727. From a letter of Mr. Maule to Mr. John Lawson, May 27, 1710. "I being of opinion that Mr. Cary had hard measure in seizing his brigantine, I endeavored all I could" etc.

[2]Col. Rec. Vol 1, 723. From a letter to Mr. Chenins and Mr. Boyds, April 16, 1710. "The Lords Proprietors are anxious to have Col. Cary called to a strict account for their dues and also (after their ambiguous manner) they have directed some warrants and precepts to the President and Council and by what he could gather from Mr. Lawson, not naming Col. Cary, but he seemd rather inclined to believe, if directed to anybody they are President Glover". Similar language is used in a letter on page 725.

Of course, as long as the matter was in disputy, with Graffenried favoring Hyde, the Palatines would have to get along without that assistance. The whole episode is sufficient proof of the inefficiency of proprietary government for the colonies. Technically Cary's claim was about as good as Hyde's. It was necessary for the new Governors to be approved by the colonial council even though they had been appointed by the proprietors, and Cary had that approval. To be legally eligible the candidate must be a member of the assembly. Here Cary had an undoubted advantage for he was a member of the assembly and Hyde never had been and had lost his office through his adherance to the law. In his recall he did not have the authorizations of the proprietors, and in this Hyde had the better of the argument for he had been sent by them. The most absurd thing about the proprietary rule was the condition that the Governor of North Carolina was not legally Governor until his patent had been signed by the Governor of South Carolina. During Cary's first administration he had undoubtedly had that signature and if his new term could by an means be considered a continuation of the old, there would be no need of a second signature. But Hyde had of course never had such a signature and when he got to North Carolina near the[1] middle of September, he found that Governor Tynte of South Carolina had been dead some little time and so could not get his credentials. This was a distinct disadvantage to him as we shall see.

[1]The following extracts of letters and their dates from Coll. Records Vol. 1, help fix the time of Hyde's coming.

Graffenried tried to get the money from Cary as soon as he came to his colony but could get nothing. Then when Hyde came he sided with him. The only immediate disadvantage to the colony of this interregnum was that they had to do without the money they were counting on. Fortunately Graffenried had before this ordered flour from Virginia so the people were able to go on with their town building. The town was placed on the point of land between the Neus and the Trent rivers and was laid out in the shape of a cross, one arm extending from river to river and the other beginning at the end

731 Black Water, August 29th, 1710.

Hon^{d} Sir:

I humbly congratulate your safe arrival, For having removed myself from North Carolina here in the borders of Virginia, etc.

733 Va. 4, Sept. 1710.

Sir:

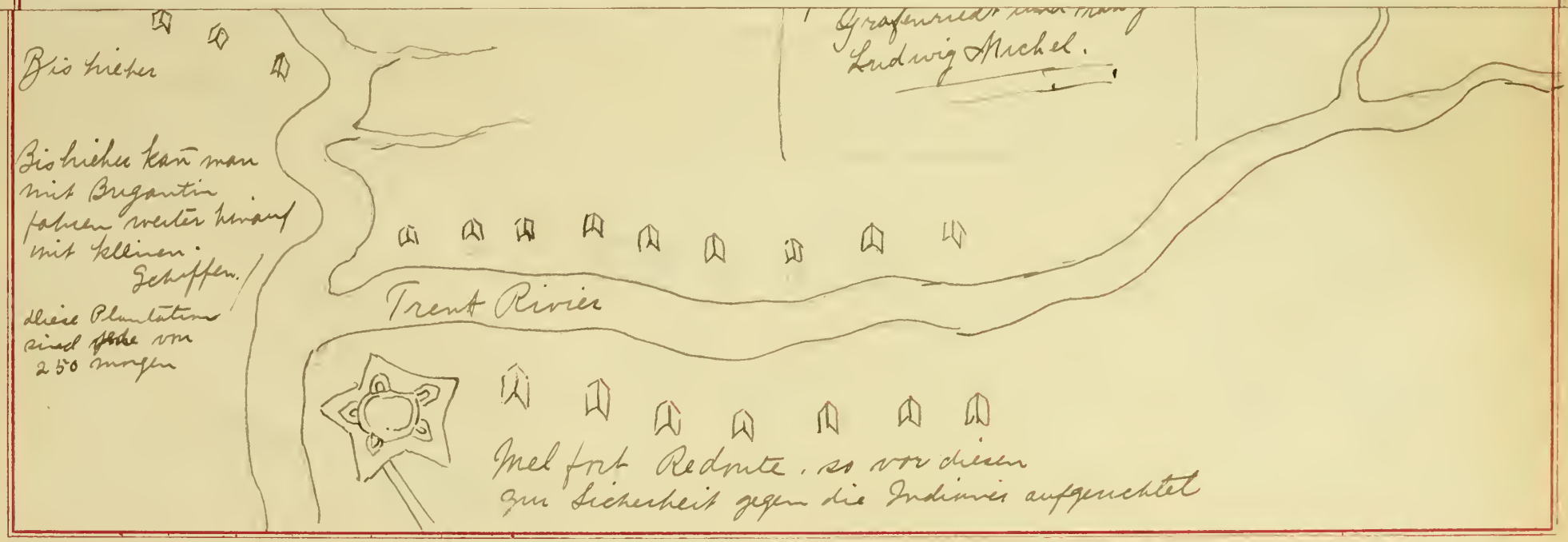
About a week ago I waited upon the Honorable Mr. Hyde, who was appointed Governor of our country; and, as far as I can learn he thinks it not advisable, as things have happened, to go into North Carolina.

740 Extract of Philip Dudwell and Nathaniel Harrison's journal.

(Sept) The 23, "The Nansemond Indian told us that sometime before he was sent for to Coll. Pollocks where were Governor Hyde, Mr. Lawson" etc. Thus Hyde must have come between Sept. 4 and 23rd, following Graffenried by only a few days for he states that he reached Virginia Sept. 10, as we have seen.

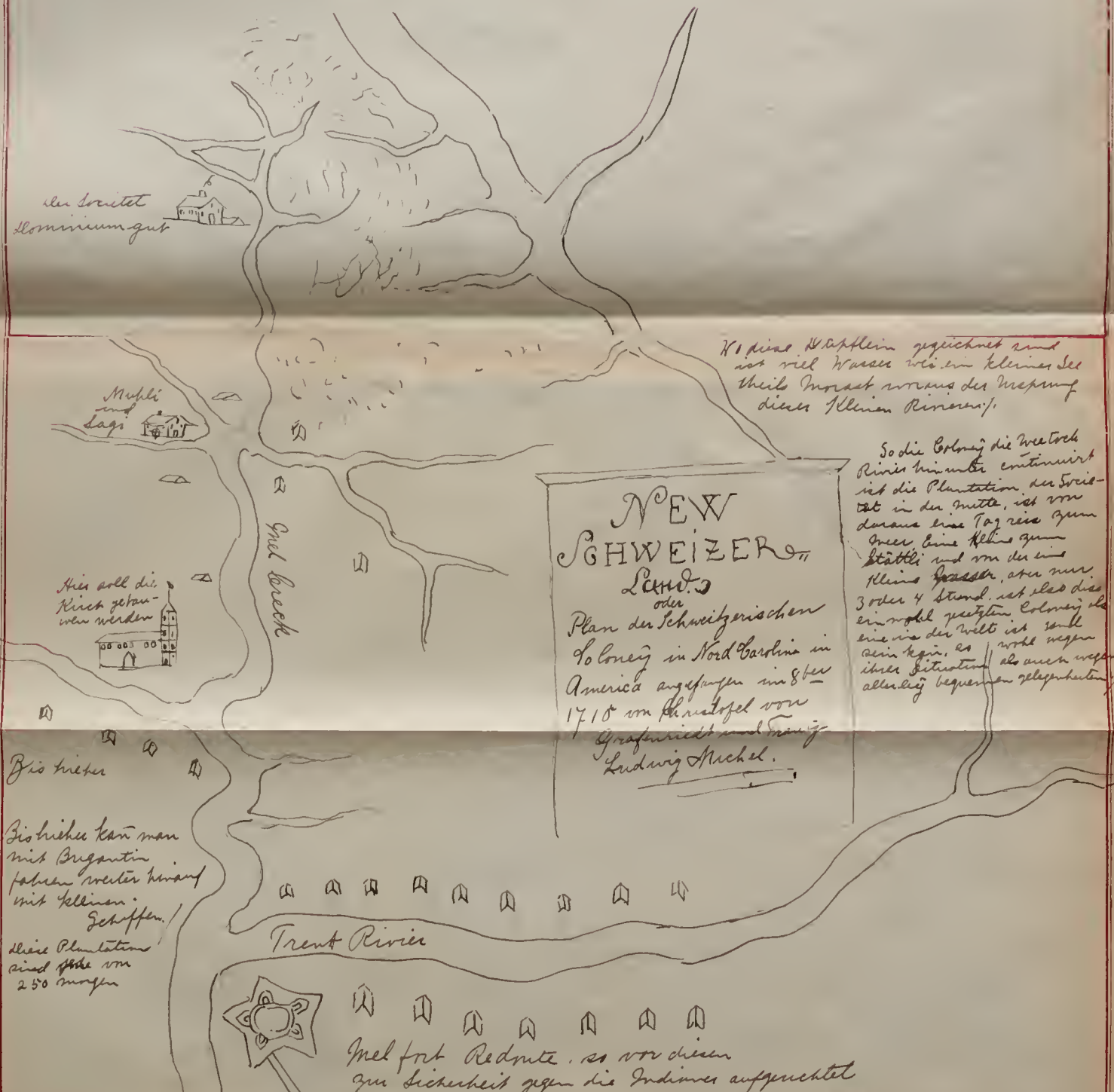
Die Relation der Ertragenheit wie
Gewild, und Visch reich, Steingerings Er
halting gross und Kleinen Vichs, welches
niemahl gewintered wird, sonder seijn
Aveijd Grüner und Winters in überfluss
hat; an Schönen Bäumen und Erdgewechsen
habe Georg Ritter übersandt: Was in de ausens
beschreibung, Kan meistens alles empfunden
werden ./.

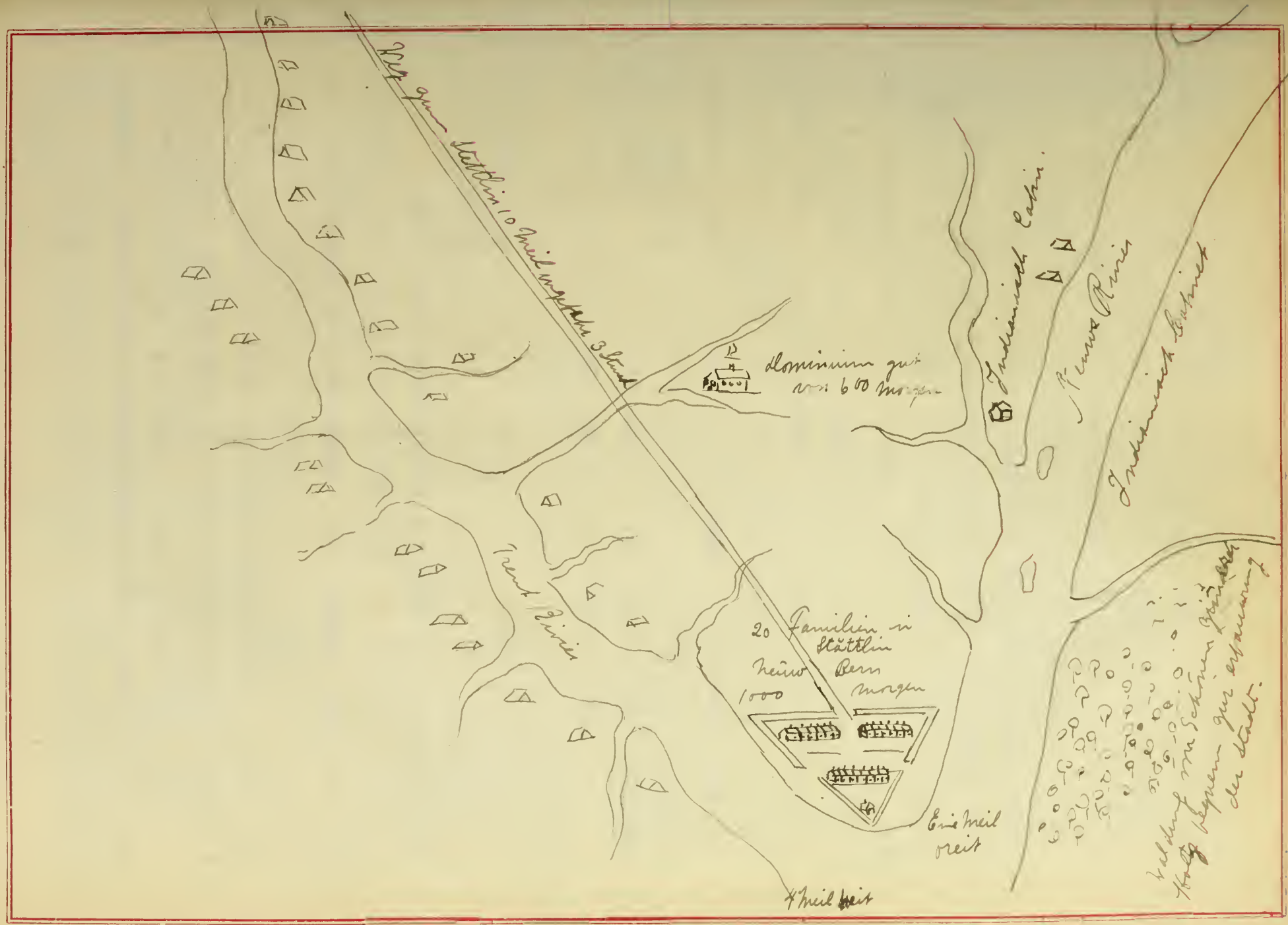
In dieser gegne etwas tessen hinunter
ist Corsound. Er streckt sich gegen Westen
Riviere, gut land einen seits am Meer
gelegen, wird fast von den Engelländren
occupiert, von wannen auf beyden Rinnen
news und Westen Zur Colonej allerley
See Provisam as Fischen, Austern,
Krebsen, Muscheln, und vielerley
andere Sachen geführt wird./.


Bis hieher
Bis hieher kan man mit Brigantin fahren weiter hinauf mit kleinen Schiffen./
diese Plantation sind stehe von 250 morgen
Trent Riviere
Grafenried
Ludwig Michel.
Mel fort Redoute, so vor diesen zur Sicherheit gegen die Indianer aufgerichtet

die Relation der Ertragenheit wie Gewild, und Visch reich Steingringer Ea halting gross und Kleinen Vichs, welches niemahl gewintteret wird, sonder seijn Zweijd Sommer und Winter in überfluss hat; an Schönen Bäumen und Erdgewechsen habe Georg Ritter übersandt: Was in Ihr ausame beschreibung, Kan meistens alles confirmiert werden ./.

In dieser gegne etwas tiefer hinunter ist Corsound. Er streckt sich gegen Neetock Riviere, gut land einen seite am Meer gelegen, wird fast von den Engelländren occupiert, von wannen auf beyden Rivieren Neuse und Neetock zur Colonej allerley See Provision an frischen, Austern, Krebsen, Muscheln, und vielerley andere Sachen geführet wird./.


der Societet Dominium gut
Mühli und Lagi
Gut Creek
Hier soll die Kirch gebauwen werden
Bis hieher
Bis hieher kan man mit Brigantin fahren weiter hinauf mit kleinen Schiffen./
diese Plantation sind jede von 250 morgen
NEW SCHWEIZERLAND oder Plan der Schweizerischen Colonej in Nord Carolina in America angefangen im 8ber 1710 von Christoffel von Graffenried und Mitj Ludwig Michel.
Wo diese Capitlein gezeichnet sind ist viel Wasser wie ein kleines See theil Morast woraus der Ursprung dieses kleinen Rivieres./
So die Colonej die Neetock Riviere hinunter continuirt ist die Plantation der Societät in der mitte, ist von daraus eine Tag reis gen Meer, eine kleine gen Stättli und von der eine kleine Grasser, aber nur 3 oder 4 Stund. ist also diese ein wohl gelegene Colonej als eine via der Welt ist, soll wohl wegen ihrer Situation als auch wegen allerley bequemen gelegenheiten./
Trent Rivier
Hier ist Redoute, so von diesen zur Sicherheit gegen die Indianer aufgemachet


Weg zum Stättlein 10 Meilen von hier 3 Stund
Dominium gut
von 600 Morgen
Indianisch Cabin.
Kleine Prairie
Indianisch Cabinet
Familien in
Stättlein
Bern
Morgen
20
neun
1000
Trocken Prairie
Eine Meil
weit
½ Meil weit

point getting back to infinitely. At a reasonable distance he built a line of fortification from one river to the other and had his coast line well defended also. These fortifications were frail enough but would have been of service in case of an Indian attack if all the people were inside and acted in concert. He planned to have a Church at the four corners. Market was to be held once a week and a fair yearly. His best contribution was his water mill for grinding grain. There was only one other mill in the whole colony and it was a poor one. The only way the people had of getting flour or meal was to beat their grain in a wooden mortar with a wooden pestle and sift it through a basket. When the little town was built a solemn assembly gave it the name of New Berne. It had such a favorable beginning that people in Virginia and Pennsylvania bought lots there. And he could say that his town made more progress in a year than some other towns had in several years.

The form of government at New Berne is no where definitely given, yet we can get some general idea of it from a few references in the writings Graffenried left.

In the treaty made with the Palatines it is stated in Article 1, that they owed him fidelity and obedience, and he in turn was to give them protection. Then before they started from England he found three of the influential persons of North Carolina in London by chance and they prepared to go out with the first party. One of these was the Receiver General, another the Surveyor General and the third a Judge of the Peace. These agreed to take charge of the people in the first ship load and to look after the colony when they had landed during Graffenried's absence.

Below them were 12 of the most capable German men as subordinate inspectors.

By his contract with the proprietors he was allowed to try differences arising between the Germans, but in cases involving an English settler the case was given to the English courts. That he actually exercised judicial power is shown by the fact that he made an enemy of his blacksmith for sentencing him to a day's log-sawing for using bad language.

The fact that most of his people could not use English very well would make them more dependent on their leader than would have been the case of an English colony settling in the same place. He was landlord, interpreter most likely, and representative in Council. Through him they were to receive their assistance from George Ritter & Co., and the proprietors, and he it was who was to furnish them with stock and the necessaries of life while the settlement was being made. His title of Landgrave would naturally have put him at the head of the colony, even without the more urgent reasons just mentioned. And so we find indications of a sort of paternal goverment during the brief time the colony existed independently. It is doubtful if there had been an opportunity or any need of a more formal government at that time.

The twelve overseers and the solemn assembly which named the town may contain the germ of a later democratic government. As it was,Cary's rebellion drew off some of the people from their allegiance and the Indian massacres and resulting wars, united to Graffenried's inability to provide food, thoroughly broke up what government there was.

When he came to his colony he found that they had been settled on land for which the Indians had never been satisfied, and so he bought it of them over again. This made a drain on his resources, but was the only way to assure his possession . Then when he saw that his settlers and the Indians were likely to have trouble with each other he bought an additional strip of land so that the Indians would be willing to move farther away. An incident he relates will show the wisdom of this action for his own settlers did not appreciate the Indian's point of view, and there would be plenty of causes for quarrels on both sides. One of his workmen returning from chopping in the woods saw a hideous idol painted red and black, the colors of his native town of Bern. He could not endure seeing his colors used for such a purpose and split the ugly representation of the devil with great satisfaction. The Indians were both horrified and angry, and Graffenried had difficulty restoring peace even with gifts.

Some time after Hyde's arrival in the colony he sent Graffenried a colonel's commission and made him commander of Bath district. This was a distinction he could very well have done without for his people were more anxious to get places to live than to assist either Hyde or Cary. Besides Cary had practised on their fears so that they were afraid to do anything but remain neutral. When Graffenried indicated as much to the Governor it did not please him at all, and he commanded Graffenried to at least attend the assembly. Of course he had to drop his own affaris and go.

Meanwhile a Quaker from England, named Roach, came and joined himself to Cary. He claimed to have orders from the Proprietors but not in favor of Governor Hyde. He also made a 200 ₤ note for Graffenried unvailing.

The next summer between [1]July 7, and 17, 1711 occurred the first battle of the civil war against Hyde. It may cause us to smile to read about it now but it had serious aspects at the time. We must remember that the Indians had begun to see that their hunting grounds were in danger and they might be expected to take advantage of an opportunity to destroy the whole colony while the people were at war among themsleves. They had not yet forgotten their treatment by the Spaniards and some of the English had not used them fairly, if we can trust Graffenried and Colonel Byrd.

While the Governor and Graffenried are holding a council at the house of one of the members of the assembly, Colonel Pollock, the rebels come, as he calls them, came up in their brigantine and fired a shot which damages the roof. The Colonel returns an answer and follows it with another. The ship then withdraws having suffered an injury to one of her masts and sends out a landing party thinking the defenders are few.

[1]Col. Rec. Vol. I. Mr. Urmstone to the Secretary.

N. Carolina July 17, 1711.

Since my last of the 7th the rebels, after a shameful defeat in their wicked attempt against the Governor and council, dispersed themselves, some fled to Virginia where they will be met with, others have absconded but so as to be ready at a call, the Governor of Virginia is expected in by Land with forces & Captain Smith commander of her Majesty's Ship the Enterprise.

But when they see the yellow livery of Graffenried's servant they think the whole Palatine colony is present under [illegible] steer for the ship. The colonel seizes the strategic moment and launches a boat in pursuit. The attaching party board their vessel again and try to escape. Possibly a bad wind or an unfavorable current hinders them, at any rate, the crew struck with panic, run ashore and take to the woods. This victory gives Hyde the advantage, for with the brigantine in his power, the Governor is able to make terms, offering a free pardon to all except the ring leaders. Graffenried uses this opportunity to have the council recognize Hyde, over a year after his appointment and about seven months after his arrival in the colony.

Peace is of short duration. Cary fortifies himself on an island. Efforts to dislodge him prove unsuccessful in what may be called the second battle of the war, and Graffenried is sent to Virginia for help. After a long and tedious journey he arrived at Williamsburg and presents his petition. [1]There is still the difficulty that Governor Hyde lacks the signature of the Governor of South Carolina and Spottswood scarcely dares send troops.

[1]Col. Rec. Vol 1 779 Letter of Colonel Spottswood. This is a long letter and confirms Graffenried's story. It was written July 25, 1711. After he had sent the ship to North Carolina. On the 28th of July he learns of the happy result of the arrival of the marines. The event then must have been about July 25. Though the date cannot be fixed very accurately. Undoubtedly ten days would allow ample time for word to reach him after the dispersal of the rebels between the 18th and 28th of July.

But in his quality as Admiral of the Virginia coasts he does send a vessel with marines and had hoped to send a fleet which was then stopping in Virginia waters on their way home, but the Commander refused to go. The Governor also assembled militia troops on the frontier if anything should happen. On the 28 of July 1711, he writes that the rebels were so alarmed that they fled at the arrival of the marines and so the third battle never took place. Cary was caught and taken to England for trial but nothing ever came of it.

This short and bloodless war marks the beginning of the end for Graffenried's colony. Up till April and May of the year 1711, as letters in the German version show, the colony prospered and had enough such as it was to live on. But when Graffenried was permitted to return to his people again, he found them without food, sick, and several had died.[2] Urmstone says that without assistance from others all would have starved. Shortly after the rebellion had been put down Graffenried was summoned to a parliment by the Governor. He was much needed at home but comforted himself with the thought that this would give him an opportunity to petition for the 500 ₤ due him. But the treasury was empty and he had to return as poor as he came.

Graffenried's colony had been planted now over a year and and he himself had been with them almost a year. As yet the proprietors had done nothing and nothing had come from George Ritter & Co. in Switzerland and his own notes were being protested.

[2]Col. Rec. Vol 1. 774

One of the settlers who was dissatisfied was about to go back to Berne and he took this opportunity to send word to them, thinking the man would tell both the needs of the colony and the advantages to the company if they should be able to hold on a little longer. The soil and climate were good and the prospect promised well if they could get over the hardship of the start. He had no idea that all his backers would desert him, so trusting in immediate assistance he purchased two boats suitable for the rivers and sound and one was even sea worthy enough for a trip to the Bermudas.

The reason he bought these vessels was that transportation charges often equaled the value of the cargo, and besides saving his own money he could have done a carrying trade for the rest of the provinces so that it would have been an excellent investment if the companies in Europe had kept their agreements and if events in the colony had not taken a disasterous turn.

His efforts to borrow money in the colony on the same terms as the proprietors were to lend it, that is, three year's time, failed him, and from that time his troubles came thick and fast.

When he came back from the parliment having accomplished nothing for his people's relief, he found most of them sick, for they had neglected his very sensible advice, to use only boiled water and to take plenty of exercise. Even before this time, according to Urmstone's letter July 17, 1711, the original 900 had dwindled down to 300.

Graffenried and his colony managed to get along till about the first of September. At that time the weather seemed suitable and the Indians well disposed and so he had no fear of taking a 15 day's exploring expedition up the rivers with the surveyor Lawson. The plan was to see how far the rivers were navigable and to find out if a better road to Virginia might not be made on the higher ground and thus save the dangerous voyages. They went in a canoe with two negro servants and two friendly Indians, one of whom rode Graffenried's horse along the bank. On the second day from home the Indian who was riding the horse was halted by one of King Hancock's men, and the whole party was taken before this chief. Only a few days before this Graffenried had been very hospitably used when he had lost his way in the woods for they kept him over night and even took some rum from a sick woman to give him, and next day guided him back home. He in turn had payed their generosity with presents, not forgetting a little something cheering for the invalid and so he hardly expected this treatment. But since he had last seen them the Indians had begun to plan a revenge for some of their wrongs. Graffenried gives Cary credit for having before this slandered him to them, by making them believe that Graffenried intended to rob them of their lands. Other Carolinians had robbed them in trade and disturbed them in their hunting and the exploring party had the misfortune to come just as the Indians were assembling for the attack.

Had Graffenried been alone it would have been better for him.

The Indians knew he had never done them any harm but they hated [1]Lawson because of his having cheated them. At first the Indians were disposed to let them go when they found who they were. But in a second examination, Lawson could not refrain from quarreling with one of his captors and spoiled it all. The Indians in anger prepared to execute both men. Bound hand and foot the victims sat on the ground and watched the preparations, not the least frightful of which was the great heap of burning wood. Graffenried, however, managed to speak to one of the Indians who understood a little English and explained his innocence and also threatened them with the Queen's displeasure and vengance she would take if they harmed him but it did not seem to have much effect at first, so in expectation of immediate torture and death he fortified himself and his negro slave with prayer and exhortation and found peace of mind in these exercises. About three or four O'clock in the morning he was unbound and led away, as he supposed, to his death, but the Indian signified to him that his life was to be spared and only Lawson would have to die and so it proved.

[1]Writing of Colonel Byrd.

It was on that Provocation they resented their wrongs a little too severely upon Mr. Lawson, who under Colour of being Surveyor gen'l had encroached too much upon their territories at which they were so much enraged that they waylaid him and cut his throat from ear to ear, but at the same time released the Baron de Graffenried, whom they had seized for Company, because it appeared plainly he had done then no wrong.

[1]Just what punishment he suffered is not known. They did not let Graffenried go home immediately however, but kept him six weeks a prisoner. During this time they made their attack on the whites. The promise that they would spare such of the Palatines as were in their own houses, did not ease Graffenried's anxiety much, for he had no way of warning his people to stay indoors. In a few days they returned with prisoners and booty. Among the prisoners was a Palatine boy and from him he learned that many of the Palatines as well as English had been slaughtered.

Graffenried saw no hopes of getting back home except by making a treaty of neutrality between himself and the Indians. By this he was to give a ranson for his own life and help neither the English nor the Indians in their war, and in return all his colonists houses marked with a big N would be safe from harm.

In view of the treatment the Indians received from the fur traders, the clause in the treaty of neutrality promising to sell them goods as a reasonable price, is very significant and shows that at least one settler of importance besides William Penn considered the Indians as men possessing the rights of men.

[1]Col. Rec. Vol. 1. 826. From a letter of Ghristopher Gale, Nov. 2, 1711.

"But the fate of Mr. Lawson(if our Indian information be true) was much more tragical, for we are informed that they stuck him full of fine small splinters of torch wood like hog's bristles and so set them gradually afire.

After he had been some time among them Spottswood wrote a letter ordering the Indians to release their prisoner, but it did not help matters. Spottswood had gone to a village called Rotaway and Graffenried was taken to a village called Tasqui lying in the direction of Rotaway, but he was disappointed in his hopes of meeting the Governor and soon was taken to Catechna, for security because the Indians were afraid of losing the ransom. While he was here the English and Palatines made an attack which angered the Indians very much in view of Graffenried's treaty, though of course his people knew nothing of it as yet. With difficulty he persuaded the Indians that his people had not been among the assailants. This attack so alarmed the Indians that they moved their wives, children and old men to their fortified stronghold near Catechna, and the Carolinians were forced to retreat with loss in killed and captured. When they were gone the Indians returned to Catechna and Graffenried was set at liberty under promise of sending back a ransom. After two days hard travelling, sleeping at night on the ground and in constant danger of wild beasts and hostile Indians, he reached home about October 20.

Graffenried fully expected to keep the truce he had made and angered some of the English and Palatines very much because he refused to allow them to kill the Indians when he came for the ransom. But he also delayed giving the Indian the ransom in hopes of inducing the Indians to free the prisoners they still held. On this account he says that a man Brice who had seduced many of his people along with a Palatine blacksmith prepared 20 or 23 articles against him, tried to arrest him and threatend to have him hung.

A little Palatine boy overheard the plot, told his mother and she got word to Graffenried and when Brice and his friend came to get him they found themselves in a trap. Beaause of lack of direct evidence he had to let them go. At a meeting of the assembly Graffenried made his defense, but could get no satisfactory decision. His truce was not acceptable to any one because the people, Germans and English, were angered against the Indians and anxious for a revenge. It appears that Graffenried would have had the truce include the whole colony, but this was impossible. Brice had drawn off a good share of the Palatines in the first massacre to defend his own house and of course their own houses were easy plunder for the Indians. When Graffenried came back he was too prudent to trust to his truce for safety and so he fortified his town and got together what he could for defense. Brice and the blacksmith had his able bodied men for the most part in their following and they began a war on their own account, and if Graffenried is correct, roasted an Indian Chief alive. This was small, perhaps, to what the Indians had just done but in the existing state of the colony, was most unwise. Graffenried's own provision was so small that he contemplated sending away the families of those who followed Brice, but they implored him not to do so, and promised to fight as well as they could if it came to an assault. He granted their request and with this handful stayed by his little town till starvation faced them all. The whole colony, as all accounts agree, was in a most wretched condition for a war. They had no strongholds, supplies of provisions, nor sufficient ammunition for an extensive campaign.

The Indians were well equipped, and in large numbers almost at their doors, and here was Brice and a small force of English and Palatines making war before anything could be prepared and thereby destroying the only thing, slight as it was, Graffenried's truce, which stood between the colony and the Indians. When he saw that the truce was broken by some of his Palatines he could not help but realize that the only safety lay in prosecuting the war as vigorously as possible and so when 50 white men and 800 tributary Indians under Col.Barnwell came from South Carolina, he sent 50 Palatines under Michel to assist in the attack. [1]These battles took place in January 1712. In the first the Indians had the advantage and then Graffenried suggested that two small cannons be used. These he had transported to the place slung from poles and carried between two horses. Two shots from them had the desired effect. A truce was fixed up and the prisoners were released. The Governor of Virginia writing Feb. 8, 1712 says: [2]"The Baron de Graffenried being obliged while he was a prisoner among the Indians to conclude a neutrality for himself and the Palatines,lives as yet undisturbed, but is sufficiently persecuted by the people of Carolina for not breaking with the Indians, though they will not afford him neither provisions of war nor victuals nor any assistance from them. He has always declared his willingness to enter into the war as soon as he should be assisted to prosecute it."

[1]Col. Rec. Vol 1. 839. Letter of Col. Spottswood to the Lords of Trade.

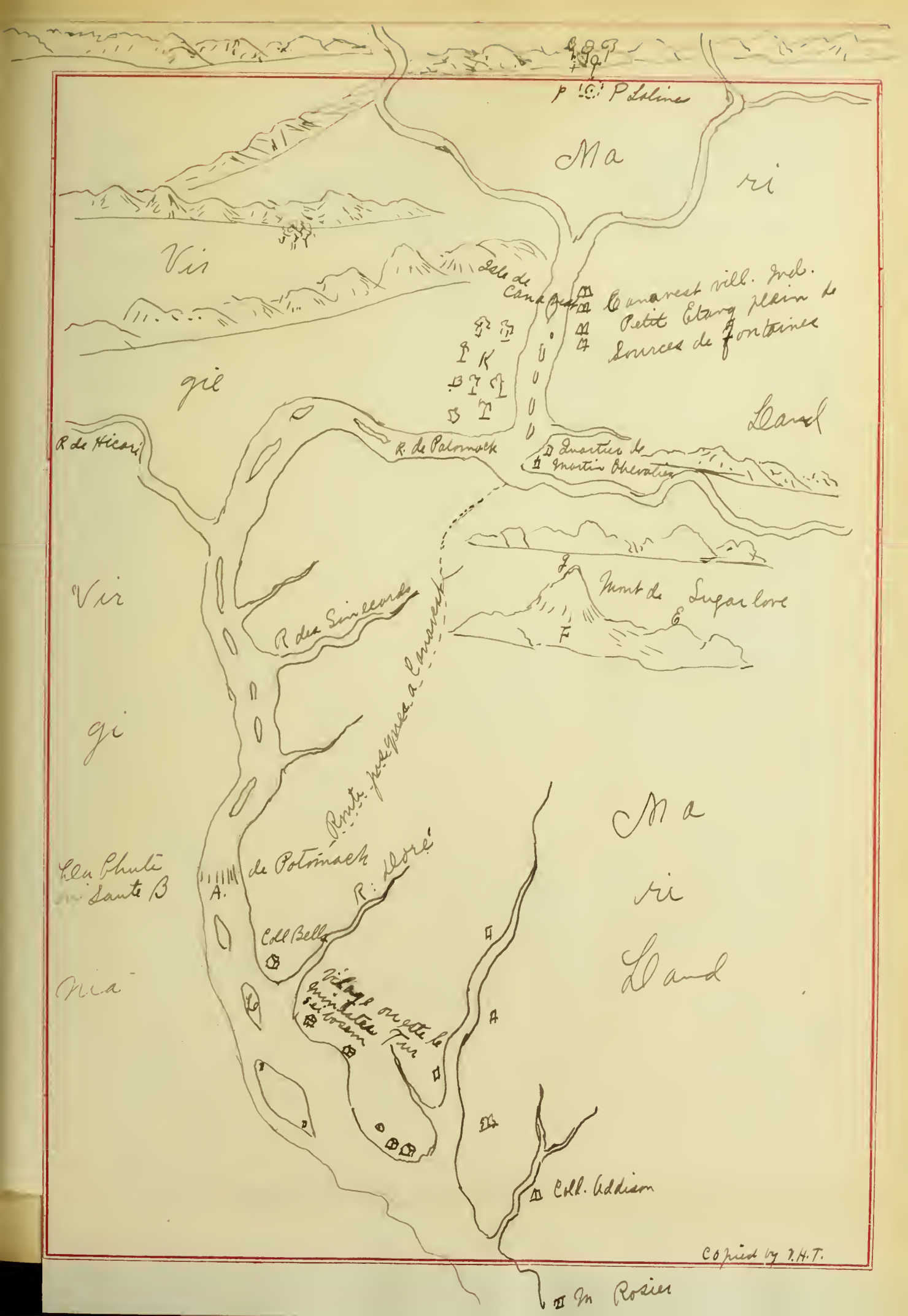
[2]Col. Rec. Vol. 1. 834.

This would seem to contradict the statements that he himself makes regarding his own part in the battle. Probably the truth is more like this. He made his treaty in good faith. Some of his colonists broke it. He helped them in the war with the idea of bringing the Indians to another truce as quickly as possible and at the same time saving the prisoners who were among them. His general attitude was like that of most Germans who settled in America, for he preferred to secure his safety by friendship with these Indians rather than by war. As the Indians did not attack his fort in their ravages before the final massacre, Spottswood likely explained it by the truce. It would not be strange if he did not know the details of the battle and Graffenried's share in it.

The Indians were far from subdued, however, and a piece of barbarous injustice practiced on them byBarnwell enraged them more than ever. His men were not paid the salary due them and to reimburse themselves they treacherously took a great many of the Core Indians prisoners for the sake of the bounty. People with reason began to fear another outbreak. Not long after the close of the war Graffenried's provisions except one measure of wheat were used up, and he needed ammunition and so he set out for Governor Hyde's and after a difficult voyage of 10 days reached there and presented his petition. The Governor could do but little for him but finally he secured a small boatload of provisions and sent it home by some of the men. When they were at the mouth of the Neus River they carelessly let fire get among some dry tobacco leaves and from them it spread to a cask of gun-powder

The crew escaped by swimming to shore and nothing was saved from the wreck. His affairs at the Governors took him six weeks. The principal business was how to meet and ward off the threatened attacks of the Indians. He advised that the exportation of provisions be forbidden and that new help be secured from Virginia and South Carolina. [1]Governor Spotts-wood in a letter of July 26, writes as follows "I thereupon made extraordinary efforts to assist them with 200 white men and Indians as you Lordship will observe in the Journal of the Council the 24th, of April last and accordingly directed the Rendevouze of those forces on the 10th of May ". This in answer to the petition of the assembly would fix the date of the Parliment some time before April 24, probably in March. Graffenried stayed at the Parliment six weeks and while there learned of the loss of his boatload of provisions. He next made efforts to secure other provisions which he sent in a larger boat in order that they might, as many as wished to, come to him in Virginia or Maryland where he intended to re-settle. It appears that he went right on from Governor Hyde's after transacting this business and went to the Governor of Virginia and petitioned for the help above mentioned and then went to explore along the Potomac for a suitable location, and to find the silver mines which he had heard so much about.

[1]Col. Rec. Vol I. 861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de Patronack
R. Doré
Coll Bella
Coll. Addison
Copied by T.H.T.
M Rosier

[1]By a letter from Mr. Urmstone May 30, 1712, there was being perpetrated a new massacre and it would appear that Graffenried was in Virginia at this time as he gives but a very small notice of the most terrible massacre the colony ever experienced.

The places he chose for his new start was just below the falls of the Potomac about where Washington now stands and at Canavest Island further up the river, probably in the neighborhood of Harper's Ferry. The Governor gave him the necessary patents and several gentlemen from Pennsylvania came to confer with him about mines. The soil and location pleased him, but the best search he could give showed no signs of silver and never has since. His prospective company returned very badly dissatisfied and he himself was convinced that Michel's story was a fabrication. Michel himself failed to appear though Graffenried waited long enough and so he returned to the Governor. From him he learned that the Captain whom he had sent to convoy the brigantine had waited six days and then nothing appearing the mate had gone out in the yawl and found the boat stuck fast and the people gone. The Governor was very angry and Graffenried had difficulty appeasing his resentment at such treatment, for he imagined Graffenried was in some way trying to show him disrespect since Michel was supposed to be acting under his directions.

[1]Col. Rec. Vol. I 850.

[1]By the order of the council August 9, 1712, Graffenried's boat was to be repaired and put to the country's service. This shows the expedition started before them and helps fix the time of Graffenrieds exploration trip as occurring during the summer of 1712.

Seeing that there was no hopes of founding a new colony in Virginia, he went back to North Carolina and stopped for some time with Governor Hyde. While he was there they all fell sick and on September 9th, the Governor died. Graffenried stayed on two weeks longer and then returned to New Bern. Again the Governor-ship was offered him, but he had to refuse on account of his precarious financial condition. The man sent to fix the brigantine found it too much damaged to repair and Graffenried was allowed nothing for either of his two boats although he considered them destroyed in the service of the province. Attempts to get satisfaction from Michel brought nothing better than proposals to settle in Mexico or along the Mississippi River, and Graffenried was persuaded that his only hope would be to take his two slaves and settle at Canevest and gradually draw a few people about him. This would be difficult because his creditors, including Pollock, were suspicious. In fact, when he tried to get his two slaves to cross the river to him they were caught and held for their master's debts.

[1]Col. Rec. Vol I. 867.

He himself did go to Virginia[1] Sept. 20, 1712, and stayed there till Spring among his friends, trying all the time to get help. They could only advise him to go back to England and Berne as it would not be safe for him to try to stay in Virginia nor to go among the Indians for the traders would be sure to find him out. While he was still in Virginia [2]Col. Moore administered a crushing defeat to the Tuscuroras on the 20th of March with the troops he had helped secure. Graffenried made his journey to New York City by horse-back, reaching what he calls "a pleasant city built after the Dutch style, with three Churches on Easter day 1713."

About the 28th he left for England and in six weeks landed at Bristol. While in London he met the new Governor, Mr. Eden who was appointed [1]June 18.

When he reached London he found Albrecht and 40 miners who had shortly before arrived.

[1]Col. Rec. Vol II. 144. Extract of a letter from Governor Pollock Oct. 30, 1714. "My first letter you dated Sept 30, 1712(a copy whereof is enclosed) I delivered myself to Baron Graffenried who was then going to Virginia.--Second letters dated April 2, 1713, immediately after the taking the great Indian fort I sent into Virginia and know they came to Baron von Graffenried who was then in Virginia. What reasons the Baron had to conceal (Or) keep up my letters I know not. I took him for a man of honour and integrity but have found the contrary to my great loss.

[2]Col. Rec. Vol II 28.

Although he had distinctly notified them not to leave Germany until they should be sent for. They came to England and had to be cared for. Graffenried got some of them work, made them put their money into a common fund and interested two merchants in forwarding them their passage money, and so they started about New Years day and came to Virginia April 28, 1714, and were disposed of as has been stated before.

Graffenried expected his friend the Duke of Beaufont to present his petition for help to the Queen. After several months just as the petition was ready the Duke died, and not long afterwards, Aug 1, 1714, the Queen died. Graffenried stayed on for months until he became convinced that the new King, George I, did not take the interest in the colonies that Queen Anne had shown. When he knew of a surety nothing more could be done he started for home. He had to leave England secretly because of his creditors and found his lack of passports a serious hindrance but finally he reached home on Saint Martins day 1714. His efforts did not cease even then. Too poor to sue his company for their breach of contract he tried then to have a commission appointed to investigate and hear his proposition, but this was refused. His efforts to interest others failed and at last to his own regret he had to abandon his colony.

The rest of his life is soon told. He was dependent upon his father for the support which was not cheerfully granted. The following letter(Neujahrsblatt 39) gives as much light on the father's character as on Christophers.

Ayez, Monsieur, la bonté de mettre en oublis le passé, et m'estant corrigé du depuis, ayéz meilleure opinion de moy pour le present et advenir: Pourtant quoyque ie vous aye chagriné par mon evasion et mes debts, cependant i'ay deservis mon Balliage avec honneur au contentment du Souverain et des Ressortissants, et n'ay rien comis d'atroce qui vous aye fait deshonneur, ny ay-le iamais, que ie sache, manqué envers Vous de Respect ny de Soumission, pardonnez moy dont le passé et ne retoucher pas tonjours cette corde facheuse, mais ayéz moy, Monsieur et très honorable Pere, en recommandation puisque ie feray touts mes efforts pour vous contenter et vous montrer que ie suis avec toutte l'obeissance Respect et Soumission L'Enfant perdu retrouvé, et amandéz, regardéz moy dont aussi en Pere benin et faitte moy sentir plus outre les effects de Votre Bienveillance.

In 1721 after the death of a brother the Oberherr von Worb Anton secured and sold to Christopher the management of the estate which went with the office reserving for himself the revenues of the office. The management of the estate was not very lucrative, but the father thought he had made a rather generous expiation for his previous treatment. When Anton became mayor of Murten he wanted a representative in Iverton and although Christopher did not relish the place still to please his wife he ran for it and got it. In 1730 at Anton's death the estate of Worb came to Christopher without encumbrance and he held it till 1740 when he retired in favor of his sons. Three years later he died and was buried in the choir of the Church at Worb.

It is improbable that Graffenried ever returned to America, although some writers incline to believe that he did come back again. The evidence I have been able to find would make it appear that the Graffenried who lived in this country after 1714, was a son and not Baron Christopher von Graffenried who founded the settlement at New Bern. According to the Neujahrsblatt, Christopher's eldest son, came at the time of the settlement and stayed here after his father's departure, settling finally in Williamsburg, New York, where he married. The Virginia Magazine quotes the following from the files of the Virginia Gazette for February 18-25, 1736" This is to give notice to all Gentlemen and Ladies that Mrs. Barbara de Graffenried intends to have a Ball on Tuesday the 26th of next April and an assembly on the 27th in Williamsburg: For which tickets will be delivered out at her Home." The note then states that "This was the wife of Christopher, Baron von Graffenried of Berne, Switzerland who brought over a colony of Swiss and Palatines to North Carolina in 1709. In the article to which the note is added in explanation she is called la Barome de Graffenriedt. The statement of her being the wife of Christopher von Graffenried is made, but no proof is given and other evidence would indicate that the Virginia Magazine is here in error. Colonel Byrd lived in Westover, Virginia, near Williamsburg.

In his memoirs he says [1]that on a trip to North Carolina in search of a mine he stopped on the way back at Col. Bollings where Madame de Graffenried was and figures out the distance from Colonel Bollings to his house [2]as 20 miles. It seems haraly probable that there were two women by the name of Graffenried at or near Williamsburg at that time and both so well known as each appears to be. From these passages I believe there was only one Madame de Graffenried and her first name was Barbara. The Neujahrsblatt says the name of Chirstopher's wife was Regine Tscharner evidently a different person if the author is correct. He could easily have found her name on the tombstone if other means were lacking, when he copied off the inscription on Graffenried's tomb.

[1]Writings of Colonel William Byrd

After a refreshment of about an hour, we went on to Colo. Bolling's who was so gracious as to send us an invitation. As much in haste as I was to return to my family, I spent an hour or two at that place, but could by no means be persuaded to stay Dinner, nor could even Madame de Graffenried's smiles on one side of her face, shake my resolution. From thence we proceeded to Colo. Mumford's etc.

[2]Account of distances idem 329

From Thence to Colo. Bolling's Plantation 5

From Thence to Colo. Mumford's Plantation 9

From Thence to Westover 16

Making from Col. Bollings to Westover 20 miles.

The most plausible explanation then is this, the writer in the Virginia Magazine supposed because this lady was called la Barome she must be the wife of Christopher von Graffenried, overlooking the fact that the title was heriditary and would belong to the eldest son and his wife even during the fathers life time. The writer in the Neujahrsblatt with the means at his disposal could hardly have gotten the name of Christopher's wife wrong, but a confusion may have arisen between the two Williamsburgs and he wrote New York when he should have written Virginia. If all these suppositions are correct, Madame de Graffenried, the lady Colonel Byrd speaks of, and the wife of the son who stayed in America are all the same person, and this evidence that the Baron ever returned to his country is destroyed and so far as I can learn there is no other. [1]Christopher's own statement that for 20 years no complaint had been made of his administration completes the proof if more is needed for his office began in 1722 and lasted till 1742.

Whether or not Graffenried ever paid his debts to Colo. Pollock and others is uncertain. He certainly had little enough to pay with when his company failed him. [2]Pollock seems to have lost faith in his letter of Oct. 20, 1714, partly because he had failed to deliver some letter to the proprietor.

[1]Neujahrsblatt 39

[2]See note 1 page 46

Graffenried complains that a box full of papers and curios had got lost on the way to Europe and these may have been among them. [3]In a letter of Feb. 10, 1715, Pollock asks him to pay 700 £ at London and keep this title to the land he had taken up. Apparently this was not done for in March 29, 1743 [4]some Palatines lead by Jacob Sheets settled by Baron de Graffenried at Neuse showing their agreement with the said Baron and praying to have Title made out to them under the "and in order that warrants might issue to them respectively for laying out their lands to each man his several proportion or otherwise to be secure in their possession."

"Then Cullen Pollock's Council produced a Patent to the said Pollock's father, Thomas Pollock Esq., deceased, for a large tract of land at Neuse which was read and it appearing to the Council that the said Patent takesin the Palatine Lands", the suit was dismissed.

That the Palatines had not been entirely without resources will appear from the Proclamation of the Council, [1]Nov. 6, 1714, where "upon petition of the poor Palatines showing that they were disappointed of the lands stock and other necessary which was to be provided for them and are reduced to great want and poverty by the late war and prays that they may have Liberty to take up four hundred Acres of land for each family at the rate of Ten Pounds a thousand acres and that they may have two years day of payment for the same."

3 Col. Rec. Vol. II 166

4 Col. Rec. Vol. IV 632

I Col. Rec. Vol. II 146

This likely was granted them subject only to the approval of the Proprietors. There is nothing to show that the proprietors failed to give their consent. This ends the story of the German settlement at New Berne as a distinctly German colony. The Town had a prosperous growth and kept its original name, but as a financialventure it was a failure for all, due not to the incompetence of the leader, but to the force of circumstances and the niggardlyness of those whose duty it was to contribute to his support.

CHAPTER III.

A Criticism of the Manuscripts.

When Graffenried returned from America dissapointed in all his plans, he found plenty of people who blamed him for the misfortune "as though he had acted rashly and imprudently." It was to vindicate himself that he wrote up his adventures in America. In order to make himself better understood in Switzerland he wrote in both French and German. For some reason he appears to have left two French versions, unless indeed one is a copy of the other, which from comparison seems hardly probable. The French version in the library at Iverton, Switzerland has been copied and translated for the Colonial Records of North Carolina where it may be found in volume 1, P. 905. When Professor Goebel was writing his book on the Germans in America, (Das Deutschtum in den Vereinigten Staaten von Nord Amerika) he found that there were other versions, and at considerable trouble and expense he had accurate copies of these made for his own use, and in hopes that if published, they might throw some light on this early pioneer. The three manuscripts as nearly as can be judged by the translation in the North Carolina Records which is a literal translation into poor English, are in many places word for word translations or copies of each other. The importance then of Professor Goebel's copies is the fact that while they contain everything that the other version has, they also have much which is entirely lacking in the North Carolina Records.

It may be worth while to indicate the most important

things which Professor Goebel's manuscripts contain not found in the other, although it is impossible always to judge which things may ultimately prove of greatest value to the historian.

The most natural comparison to make is between the two French versions, as they are most alike, being each divided into twelve contretemps which I translate misfortunes. Then where they treat of the same thing they use the same language only that often Professor Goebel's copy has things interspersed which the other does not have and occasionally the marginal notes are not placed in the same position, but this last is a minor difference and does not affect the body of the text. Then again whole paragraphs are placed in a different relative position compared with the rest of the account. For instance the chapter on Indian customs which comes at theend of the account in the North Carolina Records, is placed along in the body of the text in connection with the account of his capture, in Professor Goebel's French text. The omissions from or additions to the original text must have been made by Graffenried himself or else by some one very familiar with the text and since he mentions several more attempts made to relieve his colony in Professor Goebel's French copy than in the others, I am inclined to believe this to be the last copy he made, filling in and arranging the material about the Indians a little more logically. And for the reason that he wrote to vindicate himself and his immediate relatives were German, and as this is the most tersely written of any and gives evidence of haste it seems to me to be the original. He has added no marginal notes at

all and although he started in to write it off in misfortunes as the others were written, he never mentioned more than the first as such.

However, the order in which they were written is of minor importance compared to the contents, as they were all written about the same time.

The following paragraphs are intended to give what seems to me the most important contributions which Professor Goebel's manuscripts make to what is already accessible in the North Carolina Colonial Records. Taking the French version first: This says that Bern negotiated through Stanian the Envoy Extraordinary for a place to found a colony which should be absolutely independent of any authority except the British sovereign, but were unsuccessful because the Queen did not wish to work to the detriment of the proprietary governments. Then he and his company received permission to take up land above the falls of the Potomac, but were persuaded that conditions were more favorable in North Carolina where land was cheaper and where, under the proprietors, they would have more jurisdiction and several privileges granted them. Then when he went to Virginia he found that Culpepper had gotten ahead of him on a part of the land which would have compelled him to settle in Maryland farther from white settlers than he had hoped.

As a reward for their zeal in bringing him to the throne, Charles II gave to several gentlemen a large tract in North America with power to create hereditary titles of nobility. Graffenried was made Landgrave of Carolina, Baron de Bernberg and Chevalier

du Cordon Bleu and with it he had a medal. This regalia was worn whenever he went to the assembly and he found it increased people's deference for him.

[1]The amount of land he took up and the charges per acre have been given. Two other very important clauses of this agreement with the proprietors were, the ones providing for religious liberty and for the furnishing of provisions and stock on the part of the proprietors for three years, the debts as contracted by the colony to be paid back in three years. Then he says: "Je passe icy Lous Silence un Traitte fait avec William Penn Proprietaire de Pensilvanie pour des Terres et des mines." This is only one of several passages which show that such an agreement existed. [2]Then follows a description of the town.

His description of the voyage across the Atlantic has this of interest to us that in connection with it he states that a box of curiosities, papers and clothes which he had given to a ship's captain, became lost on the return voyage. This may explain Governor Pollock's grievance that the [3]letters sent by Graffenried were not delivered. The voyage over was without unpleasant accidents and has little worthy of mention here although it makes interesting reading.

When Graffenried returned from Governor Hyde's in the summer of 1711, he found his people, many of them, sick. This gives him opportunity to tell about the diseases the people were exposed to and the remedies to employ. In all this his good sense and care for his colonists is shown most clearly. He mentions

1. See page 22 2. See page 28 3. See page 46

also the insect and reptile pests they have to guard against and then he comes to the building of the town.

He payed for the land twice, first to Lawson, and then to the Indians, and made an alliance with the chief Taylor. Then to avoid trouble bought more land so that there might be a strip unoccupied between his people and the Indians. Taylor, along with seventeen heads of families, came in full attire at the appointed time, looking as Graffenried thought, more like monkeys than men. He, not to be out done, put on his most gaudy array and the assembly sat down together on the ground. Graffenried first made his proposition and they stated their objections, in which he says they had the better of the argument, but finally they agreed to sell what he wanted. The price was 500 bullets, 6 pounds of powder, 1000 large bullets, 500 small shot. Then when they had had a drink of rum they made the treaty. While intoxicated, M. M., evidently Mr. Michel, about spoiled the negotiations by snatching off Taylor's head dress and beating the orator after he had dragged him from the circle. The Indians did not think that this treatment before the alliance augured well for peace afterwards and were with difficulty persuaded to make a treaty. That night Michel did the same thing again to the orator and again Graffenried had to act the mediator. This same man caused so much annoyance that Groffenried had to invent ways of keeping him at a distance, one time provision ing him to survey along the Weetock River, and again he sent him to Philadelphia to see about silver mines, regarding which they had an express agreement with William Penn and the head miner, Justus Albrecht. The Indians knew he sent

him away for their sake and it helped him afterwards while he was in captivity. He also called at Coretown and promised to be good neighbors with them. Then he took the surveyor and the clerk and together they made the plan of the town. "As the people in America do not like to live crowded", he gave each house three acres and the streets were arranged like a cross. His artisans who could do better in the city had freedom from taxation for ten years, while the rest were free for three years. Then he enumerates the trades represented.

Prosperity seemed so certain that people outside even from Pennsylvania took lots. The only thing lacking was ready money. All accounts agree that this was a serious evil. The colony could not pay him, nothing had been received from Europe, but he trusted if he could only get a message to them by some person that they would help him out. One of the settlers was just going and was willing to take the message. This man, "Botschi[1], by name, abused the confidence placed in him by contracting debts in Graffenreid's name in Philadelphis and Amsterdam, yet delivered his message faithfully. But the disasters of the following autumn when the Indians captured Graffenreid and Lawson, discouraged the company in Bern and the English people so that they refused to risk their money. However, while he still believed that help would be sent him, he bought two boats for use in trading and took on one trip a cargo of wheat to the Bermudas to exchange for salt. The wheat was damaged in a storm and so the profits were lessened.

1. German version. Report to the Bern Company.

Then when he describes the trip to Canvest in search of a new place to settle he adds a description of how the Indians shot the rapids in canoes.

As an additional reason why he believed in Michel's stories of the silver mine, Graffenreid states that M. M. had asked the Queen for patents and together they had made a treaty with the miners in Europe, and Mr. Penn had made a treaty with them and had made M. M. director of minerals in Pennsylvania.

In showing the impossibility of Michel's last scheme of settling in Mexico or along the Mississippi, he goes further than the political reasons why Bern could not maintain a colony in territory disputed by England, France and Spain, and shows that at such a distance among hostile Indians a colony would not be able to exist.

Having made these reflections he determined to go back to Europe and the return trip is enlivened with a few of the wonders he saw, but has no especial importance.

When he returned to Berne, he found himself financially unable to sue his company for breach of contract, then when he presented his contract to the senate and desired a commission to hear his complaint and his proposals, the request was not granted. He made attempts with his relatives, with a neighboring republic, and in Germany, but could interest no one. He also tried to get Stanion, envoy extraordinary to the Corps Helvetique to present a petition to King George I, but Stanion was made ambassador to Vienna about that time and had to leave the affair unfinished. Another petition received for answer, that the wars were not end-

and nothing could be done.

At the return of King George, when peace was made between England, Holland and France, the time seemed favorable but a new alliance made it again impossible.

These then are the principal things which Professor Goebel's French copy has in addition to what is translated in the North Carolina Colonial Records.

In the German account there is first a copy of his report to George Ritter & Co., written May 6, 1711. This is followed by three letters written by some of the settlers. They appear to be written just after the naval battle in which the Hyde forces captured the brigantine.

After stating his reasons for making this, a duplicate report, since he had shortly before sent another, he informs them that unless the money, until then refused him, be paid the colony is likely to see hard times. Writing of the contract he made with Penn, he says unless he had been present and added his signature Penn would never have made a treaty with Michel regarding mines. He says the Carolina government is now established, but poorly executed. He says under these circumstances he had to give security for 5000 ℔ rather than let the poor people suffer. At this time the protestation of his notes was causing him uneasiness. He asks the company to find out 8 more associates at 300 ℔ each or 4 and over at 600 ℔ or else to secure what is needed through his father. The account rendered shows an expenditure of 2228 ℔ and is an interesting document showing what he furnished since his first report, for his language indicates he had made a report

shortly after he came to America. At this time he had distributed 10 cows and their calves, 30 pigs, 4 horses, 8 sheep and in addition he had 4 cows for himself. In this report he mentions the pruchase of the little boat and says Michel did it while he was absent and gives his approval. The need for money is all the more urgent because Colonel Pollock was then refusing to sell the colonists cattle, and his own people were preparing to make a complaint to the Royal Committee. Possibly the contract which he copied here, made with the George Ritter Co. would have as much interest to the student of American history as any one document he left. A second copy, apparently for the French version, but written in German is also given but not incorporated in the main account. To give a detailed report of all theseadditions would be impossible at this time. Suffice it to say, these pages give a more intimate appreciation of the man's character and the difficulties of his position than any thing else he wrote, coming as they do right at the time the settlement was actually being made. It is a pathetic picture they give us. On the one hand, the colonists trusting him to provide for them, with no understanding of his difficulties, contented with their lot for the most part, except that they would like a little more variety in their food, and Graffenreid, alone of all seeing the ruin that must inevitably over take them unless help reach them speedily, beggingswith all the eloquence of dispair, yet without sacrificing his own manhood, for assistance that should have been given him freely. It took the qualities of a hero to face such disaster and stand between the people and want, while a shadow of a chance of saving the col-

ony existed.

The language in which the manuscripts were written is a Swiss dialect of German and French. Of these two the French offers the less difficulty, because it was less hurriedly written and because the differences between it and modern French is not so great. Graffenried often omitted the grave accent and the circumflex is found not at all. Where a dropped letter would give an accent in modern French, the old spelling is used, for instance j'étais is spelled jestais, été, esté, être is given simply etre, arreter as arester. Then the word deja is invariably written desia and the reflexive pronoun se is given as ce. Double letters are indicated by a single letter with a dash above. Again where now there are double letters, he spells with only one, assez is given asez. Present and words made from it, as well as person, are often abbreviated to p'sent, p'son. Y takes the place of final i in midi, ici and so we find midy, icy. After one has become accustomed to these changes, the text presents little difficulty except in one place where Graffenried evidently made[1] errors and wrote what he did not intend. For the most part the words are spelled phonetically and if pronounced as spelled give the sense perfectly. The hand writing of the copyist is for the most part legible as soon as one becomes accustomed to its peculiarities, there are, however, a few places where it is difficult if not impossible to make out the letters.

The German version is the more difficult of the two because first it was written more hastily, and the sentences are

1. See page

more eliptical and the language shows a considerable variation from the modern German. To consider it phonetic spelling will not always help as it does in the French version for when pronounced as spelled it gives the word often much differently than we are accustomed to. A few examples will illustrate my meaning; liecht is used for leicht. Forcht for Furcht, ziechen for ziehen, gewest for gewesen, Frund for Freunde. The dialectic diminutive ending li is found occasionally as Muhli und Sagi for Muhllein and Saglein.

In one place the two French versions have mistakes in the text which must have been made by the author himself. The translation in the Colonial Records shows that his copy and Professor Goebel's read alike. With the assistance of Professor Fitzgerald, I have made changes which bring these versions into harmony with the German version and all three make sense and agree with the physical facts in the case.

To better show this, I shall give all three versions and the changes I believe should be made.

1 Belle Situation des Terres dessous le saut de Potomack on mons voullions établir aussi une colonie.

Je reviens a la petite nouvelle Colonie que Vonllions établir. Ge crois qu'il y a guere d'endroit dans le monde, plus beau et mienx Litue que celni cy de Potomac et de Canavest le quell nons voulions partager en deux petites Colonies. La premiere Justement dessus le Laut ou chutte, ou il y a une tres jolie Isle de tres bon terrain et vis avis un Coin entre la grande Rivere de Potomack et une autre petite Riviere nome Gold Creeck, en francars ruisseau d'or, comode pour recevoir tout ce qui vient d'enhaut la

Rivere les plus gros navires marchands, y pouvant faire voile, aussi bien que ce qui vient en bas de dessus le Saut ou d'alentour, L'autre Colonie devait etre etablie pres de Canavest come est a voir par le plan.

Fine situation of the lands above and below the falls of the Potomack River, where we ai ed to establish a colony.

I believe there are hardly any finer and better situated sites. in the whole world, than that of the Potomack and Canawest, a region which we thought of dividing between two small colonies. The first was to be just below the Falls, where we found a very pretty island, very good lands, and, on the opposite side, a place, between the great river Potomack, and another small river called Gold Creek (which means in French Rivere doree:-- gilded stream-), very convenient to receive whatever comes from the upper river as well as what comes down from above (below?- Translator) the falls and surroundings;- the biggest merchant ships may sail there. The translator's foot note to this passage is as follows: "I acknowledge that the whole under lined sentence shows very little sense,- but it is a faithful translation, absolutely literal. Evidently the word "above" (dessus) seems to be there for below (dessous)." (Translator).

Arrival of a messenger from Carolina. He brings bad news about my brigantine.

The other colony was to be erected near Canawest, as may be seen by the map.

The following note refers to this sentence. The auth-

entica ted copy of the MS. says nothing of that map, probably lost. (Translator).

If in place of the correction suggested by the translator in the North Carolina Colonial Records we change the French version to read as follows: La premiere Justement dessous le Saut on chutte on il y a une tres Jolie Isle de tres bon terrain et vis avis un Coin entre la grande Riviere de Potomack et une autre petite Riviere nome Gold Creek en francais ruisseau dor, comode po pour recevoir tout ce qui vient enhaute la Riviere, the new reading will correspond with the German version which follows and the map which has been copied from one in Professor Goebel's possession. It would appear that Graffenried inadvertently omitted the o in dessous, giving dessus, which entirely changes the meaning from what the note would lead one to expect. In both the French versions, the expression vient enhaut pronounced with an elision of the t and the following e may have caused him to insert the preposition de which would give much the same sound but mean exactly the opposite of what he intended.

The following from the German version will show what he undoubtedly intended to say.

Kein schöneren Sitz glaube in der Welt zu seyn als dieser, welchen wir in zwei Kleine Colloneyen abtheilen wolten, die Erste grad unter dem fahl, wo eine überaus Lustige Insul von gutem Grund und gegenüber an einem Eggen, zwischen der Potemax River und einer Kleineren Gold Crec genant, alles was aber für dem fahl hinunter oder hinauf willens zu empfahen, und können die

grössten Kaufmañ -Schif dahin fahren, der anderen Sitz, solte seyn bey Canavest wie das Plan aufweist. So then his settlements were to be made, the one at Canavest, some distance up the river, the other just below the falls opposite the point of land between Gold Creek and the Potomac. As a matter of fact the river up to this point is deep enough to accomodate vessels as large as any of that day, and so his town at the head of river navigation on the one hand and in easy communication with the surrounding country and its trade on the other would have in this an excellent location.

Any one reading Graffenried's accounts in any of the three versions will be struck by the lack of dates at which events occurred and a more careful reading will convince him that the logical sequence is very often not preserved, even for the most important events. This is not so surprising when we consider that he wrote some time after the events took place, and wrote hurriedly, and had not so much the object of making a pleasant narrative as to show that he himself was not to blame for the misfortunes his colony suffered. When he does describe interesting episodes or customs of the savages, it is a digression from the real purpose for which he wrote. This lack I have tried to make good with the best means at my disposal. Since the histories in the library gave but little detailed information regarding this period, I have compared contemporary letters and reports in the Colonial Records of North Carolina and for the following events have fixed approximately, if not accurately the date on which they occurred, and have given the references in the foot notes in Chapter II.

[1]Cary's Rebellion, [2]the time during which he supported his people for 22 weeks, [3]the first attack upon the Indians, [4]the second Indian massacre, [5]the exploring expedition to Virginia and Maryland, [6]the death of Governor Hyde, [7]Graffenried's departure for Virginia after the failure of his plans in North Carolina, [8]the second great attack on the Tuscuroias and [9]his arrival in New York and England. Fixing the time of the first Indian attack, Graffenried's visit to the Governor and to Virginia for help and the second great battle was more difficult, because while the Records are plain enough in stating when the events took place, Graffenried's own account seems to contradict them in all three versions. The order of events as he states them is as follows: There is a danger of an Indian uprising and he goes to a council which decides to ask help of South Carolina. They secure Colonel Barnwell with 500 whites and 800 tributary Indians and make two assaults upon the Indians in which Graffenried assisted. Peace was made but within a short time Barnwell's treachery in capturing some of the Core Indians for the bounty caused the war to break out again and the colony suffered a frightful massacre. Then follows immediately the account of the final battle in which 900 Indians were killed and their power broken. Then Graffenried tells of the peace he helped make and says to relieve his people's distress, he allowed them to engage themselves to the planters round about for terms of two years. Immediately follows his trip to the Potomac River, the distruction of his boat, and the death of Gov-

[1]See page 25 [4]Page 46 7 Page 46
2 " " 40 5 " 43 8 " 46
3 " " 41 6 45 9 " 46

ernor Hyde. There is not the slightest intimation of the date of the occurances and as we have seen, the first Indian fight occurred in the latter part of January 1712. This was followed by the treaty of peace in which he took part and then Barnwell caused the massacre which in part at least, took place in May, while Graffenried was at Governor Hyde's. From here he sent the boat load of provisions to his colony and when it was destroyed sent a second boat load, while he went on into Maryland. On his way back in September, 1712, Governor Hyde died and then Graffenried saw that his colony was a failure and September 20, 1712, went into Virginia where he passed the remainder of his time before starting to England. The second battle with the Indians took place March 20, 1713, while Graffenried was in Virginia and the following extract from Pollock's letter book will show that Graffenried could have had no part in this last peace.

[1]April 30, 1713.

Hon'd. Sir: Yours of April 27th by your messenger received. As for Tom Blount, (Chief of the Core Indians and the only chief of any importance left alive after the taking of Catechna W.H.T.) he was with us at our last Council, and we are come to such an article of agreement with him as your Honor proposed in yours of April 7th and he is to meet with us the 10th or 11th of the next month at the assembly fully to conclude the peace, of which mine to you of the 25th instant (by Capt. Maule and John Lovick) have given your Honor a particular account. As has been shown

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Graffenried was in New York City not later than[1] Easter day, April 13th. Thus the peace he helped conclude was the one following the first Indian defeat in January 1712. Accordingly I have been compelled, reluctantly, to believe that in 1715 when these accounts were being written Graffenried had forgotten just how the events did occur. In no other way can his story and the contemporary records be reconciled. Persons in the University, competent to speak on such matters, have said that it is not unusual that a person writing up things that happened a few years previously fail to get the order in which they occurred correct.

Two full centuries have now passed since the little colony of Germans planted their settlement at New Bern and contributed their share towards the religious liberty we now enjoy. Graffenried's failure, as he looked at it, is not all a failure if we may in any way learn to appreciate better the blessings we now enjoy by considering the cost at which they have been purchased for us. Certainly coming years will deal more justly with Baron de Graffenried than the past has done and the justification he so much desired, though late, will be fully rendered.

[1] According to the Gregorian Calendar. The Julian Calendar makes it April 5th. By Pollock's letter on page 46 where he says he sends letters dated April 2d to Graffenried who was then in Virginia and knew he got them would leave only three days for the messenger to deliver the letters to the Baron and for him to get to New York unless the later date be accepted.

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